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CHILDHOOD

When the baby is from a week to a few months old, his mother or his maternal grandmother pierces his ears. To do this she applies something hot to the ear and then punctures it with a strong thorn or a sharp bone. The child learns "to hear things sooner" and obeys more quickly if this is done promptly. "When the ears are not pierced, the child cannot be controlled; he will be wild and go to the bad. It is believed that children grow faster too if this is done." Pendants of white beads or turquoise are strung from the ears of very young children, and this mode of ornamentation continues throughout life.

Sexual intercourse between a man and his wife is not resumed until the child has been weaned. During this period of almost three years the couple is expected to remain continent. Actually some men contrive to "sneak around" and "find easy women" with whom to have relations. But social pressure operates to enforce this rule of continence strictly in the majority of cases. A man so importunate as to demand connection with his wife too soon is subject to sharp criticism and is said to have acted "against" his growing child. "There is a man whose child is not walking yet, and his wife is pregnant. The Indians think he is no good. We are ashamed to have a second child on the way before a first is weaned."

Because the mother's milk supply has been stopped or altered by her new pregnancy, the nursing infant is "starved" and upset and is likely to become a weakling. In such an emergency another minor rite is arranged:

> There's a hair-cutting ceremony that I'm going to tell you about. Let us say a child is only a year old and the mother is pregnant again while that child is still nursing. Then the little child that is only a year old is sick; it has stomach trouble. Something must be done for that child.
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> When this happens, the mother usually takes the child to an old woman or someone who knows what to do. This old woman cuts the child's hair and puts red paint over the child's body. Then she gives it some kind of medicine.

Polygyny, though it is not widely practiced, exists, and a man with more than one wife "is in a good position, for when one of his wives is pregnant or has a nursing child, he can go to the other."

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addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides?*) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls.

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins

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291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as [531] a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One in- [178] formant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

•301 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments 789 of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the 855 camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their [857] hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes [515] are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 'tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the 855 hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and 175 adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 The home in which the family lives is made by the women and [462] is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and ap- [824] proximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles [412] of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the frame- [283] work, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

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Women school the girls in obedience "so that their husbands won't hear saucy words from them." 867

The girl's training is less formalized than that of the boy. It amounts to a greater and greater association with the duties of her mother, older sisters, and other female relatives, until she attains adult standards in the quality of work she can perform. 868

At this time, when the little girl is first learning to do women's work, her hair is done up in the style worn by young women: 868 302

> In the old days the young woman had her hair done up. She took it in one bunch and wrapped it up in back. Then she put a hair ornament on, and it covered the knot of hair and was tied in the middle. The hair ornament was made out of buckskin or cowhide. It had to be stiff. In my day they covered the hide with cloth. The color was usually red. . . . .
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> The hair ornament was put on as soon as the girl was ten or twelve years old. It had nothing to do with the girl's feast [puberty rite]. There was no ceremony connected with it that I know of. The mother would make it. The only thing I know about it is that they said anyone who had the hair done up that way would have very long hair, for it would grow long while it was done up that way. They told this to the little girls, and it was generally true. [301] [852]

One of the earliest tasks given the little girl is the care of still younger members of the family. She is also instructed in the use of the tumpline and is expected to help bring in wood and water. 868 857

These simple household tasks are supposed to be shared by children of both sexes, but the boy is hardly old enough to be of appreciable assistance when he senses the sexual division of labor: "After my father was gone I worked a little around the house, getting wood, carrying water, and helping my mother. I was ashamed to do that though. It was woman's work. The other boys used to pass by and see me and make fun of me." It is not long before the boy has to be released entirely from such duties to follow his companions in their training and sports. But the girl is encouraged to continue and intensify her interest in household affairs.

However, like the boy, she must train herself to be strong and vigorous. She is told to rise early, to run often, and to shun no hard work. Tales are frequently told of girls so fleet that they rival boys in races. Such swiftness and strength are necessary, for girls must be able to get quickly to safety in case of attack on the camp. 866 868 526

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one is present, spit into the masks four times, make three ritual feints toward themselves with the headdresses, and draw the masks over their heads the fourth time. Now they are ready to move in single file down the hillside, led by their most experienced dancer.

As they depart, they present a colorful spectacle. They wear high moccasins (with upturned toe) and buckskin skirts. These are colored yellow. The skirt is held in place by a broad belt; and from the skirt are suspended pendants of various kinds.[7] The arms and upper part of the body, with the exception of the face, are entirely covered with paint. Black, white, and yellow are most used; blue appears occasionally. The motifs most frequently employed are narrow bands of contrasting color, a branching design to stand for cactus, a saw-toothed element, a stepped line, a zigzag line, the triangle, the Greek cross, a pattée type cross, and a four-pointed star. These designs may remain the same all four nights, the same design may be used the first and third nights and another the second and fourth nights, or different designs may be painted each evening. Occasionally, the painted designs on the leader vary slightly from those of the others. The dancers carry painted wooden sticks in each hand; one or both of those carried by the leader may have a cross-piece at the handle. Long, narrow, buckskin streamers with eagle feathers attached are tied just above the elbows.

The mask is a buckskin hood which fits snugly over the head and is gathered at the neck by a drawstring. Two tiny holes for the eyes, and one sometimes cut at the mouth, are the only openings. These hoods are usually painted black but are also seen in yellow, in blue, or in two tones. When they are not a solid color, they may show such design elements as have been mentioned for the body. On the mask, at the forehead or nose

[7] Today, small cone-shaped jingles of tin have taken the place of these on the dance kilts, the dress made for the pubescent girl, and on other objects (awl cases, buckskin bags, burden baskets, etc.). To make these tin jingles, the metal is cut to proper size, placed over a depression in a board, and smartly struck at the median point. This curls the two sides, and it is then an easy matter to press them together with the fingers to form the cone, which is attached to the garment on a length of fringe.

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structure. This time, however, he brings with him a bundle of narrow sticks of mock orange wood. Beginning at the southeast and moving clockwise around the fire pit, he erects one stick for every song he sings this fourth night, until the fire pit is surrounded except for a space to the east that must remain open. After every set of four songs has been sung and the corresponding four sticks have been set up, a fifth, shorter length of wood is placed horizontally on the ground between this set and the one to follow. This horizontal piece represents a smoking song presumably: "When I lay the stick down, there is a song about smoking that goes with it. The song comes first, then I put the stick down, then smoke, then pray, then go on to the next set." For the first three nights the singing and dancing within the structure cease at midnight or before. But this night they continue until daybreak.

The songs of the second, third, and fourth nights to which the girl dances are a continuation of the life-journey pattern. In order to indicate the sweep of this ritual progression, a number of songs, arranged roughly in chronological order in respect to the rite as a whole, are introduced. The first, a shuffling-step song, has to do with the birds:

White Painted Woman commands that which lies above,
Killer of Enemies commands,
By means of long life they command.
From the mouth of the chief bird
Yellowness emerges by means of it,
By means of it yellow emerges from your mouth.

The girl's necklace, symbolic of lifelong wealth, is celebrated in a shuffling-step song:

The words of Killer of Enemies, good through long life,
Have entered you;
They have entered you by means of your necklace;
Your necklace has gone into your body,
For its power is good.

Of the next song, which he called "She Sleeps with It," the singer said:

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A witch can be told by his language. If he makes a threat against another and it comes true, he may be suspected of being a witch. People who steal or habitually do mean things are witches.

Or his habits may be strange and may put him under suspicion. If you see a man on a high hill going through a strange ceremony, you can be sure he is a witch. A shaman would not go way out in the mountains and dance naked, as I have heard has been done. A shaman would perform his ceremony in the open and at home. Witches always go far out and do strange things. [756]

There are people who are queer. They are seen doing things that are not right in this life, as if I should get out here and pray to the sun when I shouldn't. It would look bad. Or if a man is seen carrying bones of animals and trying to hide them; it is things like that which cause a person to be suspected of being a witch.

Not long ago my wife got up very early to make a fire. It was before anyone else was up. There, by the little road which runs past our camp, she saw a man waving a handkerchief to the four directions. This was after this man's wife died. My wife asked me what I thought of this. I said I thought it was sorcery. It was a queer thing for a man to do.

Even if you are not a witch but do something peculiar, you will fall under suspicion. For instance, one day I was whistling and doing some steps of the masked dancer just for the amusement of my wife and child. My wife said, "You had better stop. Someone may see you and think you are a witch." I was not dressed properly for the dance, and there was no music. It would have looked bad if someone had seen me. The Chiricahua has to be very careful. When a person is accused of being a witch, there is always some reason for it in his actions.

. . . . In one case I heard of, a woman who took all her clothes off somewhere around here and ran up a hill with her buttocks toward the camps was known as a witch. Once a man was seen entirely naked handling his sexual organ and saying some prayer. This is peculiar, and the man fell under suspicion. He was suspected of going through a ceremony to give someone venereal disease.

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The possession of unusual amulets may also give rise to gossip:

They may have some beads or an arrowhead or something hidden under their clothes. Sometimes someone sees this. Then people are suspicious. Some may wear a little buckskin around the wrist or perhaps some little bones, or something like that, or maybe they have some hair. Some wear what they use openly and don't care if they are called witches.

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The manner of dress may reveal the witch. "We were warned when I was a boy that witches never wear good clothes. That's

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PLATE XV

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Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fe

WOMAN WITH MUTILATED NOSE